



To Advertisers.—Business men will find it greatly to their interest to place their advertisements in the *National Era*, Boston, Mass., and Joy, Co., & Co., are our authorized advertising agents for Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia.

The following gentlemen are accredited agents for the *Era*: G. W. Light, Boston, Mass.; J. A. Innes, Salem Mass.; G. Thomas Wheeler, Cincinnati, Ohio; L. T. Park, Miami, Ohio; Joseph Hughes, Philadelphia, Pa.

## WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 4, 1859.

A CARD.

It is due to the subscribers of the *National Era* to state that the paper will continue to be edited and published under the provision made by its late editor and proprietor, in view of his intended absence in Europe.

The *Era* will remain true to the principles it has always advocated. Writers of eminent ability will contribute to its editorial columns. Its literary department will be placed in able hands, and no effort will be spared to make the paper as nearly as possible what it has always been.

The value of the *National Era* as the representative of free principles at the National Capital, and to the family of its late editor as their only available source of support, makes it my imperative duty to continue its publication without interruption.

MARGARET L. BAILEY.

Washington, July 11, 1859.

### POLITICAL TRACTS.

We desire to call particular attention to the series of Political Tracts in course of publication by the Republican Association of this city, and which have from time to time appeared in the *National Era*. Our next issue will contain No. 4 of the series, entitled "The Slave Trade."

These Tracts are prepared with great care by gentlemen every way qualified for the day assigned them, and are issued under the supervision of the Congressional Republicans Executive Committee. They are compiled chiefly from Congressional and other official records, so that there is no possibility of the facts contained in them being refuted.

Republicans everywhere should take immediate steps to have them very extensively circulated among the people. For price, &c., see advertisement in another column.

MEXICO.

The confiscation of the church property in Mexico by the decree of Juarez, the chief of the Liberal party or Government, is a measure about as radical and revolutionary in its character as would be the abolition of Slavery in the Southern States by the proclamation of President Buchanan. It is believed to have been stimulated, if not suggested, by Mr. McLane, the American Minister, and has since been sanctioned by the Washington Cabinet. The church property of Mexico is valued at half a billion dollars, and bears to the aggregate wealth of that country a larger proportion than the value of all slaves in this country does to its total wealth.

But there is not the slightest danger that Mr. Buchanan will apply his Mexican confederation policy to Slavery, and we have no intention to frighten the slave interest by an intimation of that kind. If Mr. Buchanan has no friends in the world, he has none anywhere, and it is at all probable that he will sell his interests as he has done those of the Northern people.

There is, however, another class of the Democracy who may feel this set of Catholic Church spoliations is a blow struck at them. The Catholics of this country may sing "Te Deum" over Amercian victories at Buena Vista and Chapultepec, because they hope that such victories may lead to large acquisitions of Catholic followers; but they will not be apt to celebrate the editor of *Juarez*, by which their church is despoiled of her lands and goods which it required three centuries and more to accumulate.

Not only the lands, but the converts and all personal property of the church, have been appropriated to public uses. The monks and nuns are to be turned adrift upon the world, with a pitance of five hundred dollars, which will barely support them twelve months.

A strong and powerful Government, in the full tide of success, might possibly carry out this radical revolution; but that Juarez, who is little more than a titular President, with the National capital and the adjacent provinces in the possession of a rival claimant of the supreme power, will be able to do so, is not probable. If he succeed, and if he be an honest man, and appropriate the immense sum thus acquired to public purposes, to the construction of railroads and other works of internal improvement, the act of spoliation will be justified by the world. To use the epithet maxim, we fear that the plunders of the church will serve to organize a faction, and that the Administration at Washington have sanctioned a fearful precedent of revolution to no useful end.

AGRICULTURE.—Elections took place on Monday in Kentucky, Alabama, and Texas; for members of Congress and State officers; and to-day elections take place in North Carolina and Tennessee for similar purposes. The Opposition, as usual, are sanguine of success in Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina, but we suspect that their accustomed luck awaits them. In Kentucky, the Opposition richly deserve to be beaten, for their despotic apostasy to the principles of Henry Clay, and we sincerely hope that not a man of them will be elected to Congress, unless some one of them has preserved the faith of his fathers; but if they do, we have not heard of it. In Tennessee and North Carolina a more honorable course has been pursued by the Opposition. They have not, so far as we have observed, taken the extreme Southern ground of insisting upon a slave code in the Territories, and have at the same time opposed the proposition to reopen the slave trade. The Black Democracy, in these States monopolizes all the ultraism, but we fear that that account they have preserved their ascendancy. It is to be feared, also, that the Opposition in Kentucky have succeeded for the same reason.

THE MARIONISTS AND SLAVERY.—A number of the Methodist Episcopal clergymen have published a circular to their denomination, recounting the history of the church as connected with Slavery, and stating that they "feel that it is our duty to speak on the subject, if possible, at the next session of our General Conference, which takes place at Buffalo, May 1st, 1860," a disciplinary rule by which all slaveholders shall be declared ineligible to membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church. This circular, inciting our nation, and its malignant influence is not less deadly upon the church of God; and we feel it our duty, as much as in us lies, to remove it, and to wade away the stain of our common Methodism." Their dispute, therefore, that memorials on the subject be sent to the Conference.

The *Springfield Republican* modifies a statement which we copied from its columns, thus: "It is the young James Gordon Bennett, a bold youth, who keeps a yachet, and the elder, who keeps a newspaper, who has been in Boston, dining with Governor Banks."

### UNION OF THE OPPOSITION.

Great efforts are being made to unite all the elements of opposition to the present party in power, in the support of common candidates for the office of President and Vice President in 1860. The cry of union comes up from North and South, from Anti-Slavery Republicans and Pro-Slavery Americans. But we have remarked it as a singular feature of this negotiation for union, that the weaker party proposes its ultimate to the stronger, and the latter wedded to his theory of popular sovereignty, could hesitate in preferring the Republic to the Slave Democratic party. The Americans and the bigots for like reasons, and for the stronger reason that the right of Slavery creates a striction, but deny its expediency, make vote with the Republicans in such a contest.

Here we have two elements of Opposition to constitute, the Americans and the Free Soil Squatter Sovereignty Democrats. Both agree with the Republicans, they say, in desiring the establishment of Freedom in the Territories. One of them admits and the other denies the right of Congressional intervention. The Republicans assert the power, but are willing to waive its exercise for almost all the Territories now in the Union. On the other hand, the Sham Democracy claim the right and the duty of Congressional intervention for the protection of Slavery in the Territories. Can these parties for a moment doubt where the path of duty lies, in such circumstances?

But it will be said that these wings of the Opposition will not be compelled to choose between the alternatives presented in the Anti-Slavery intervention Republican, and the Pro-Slavery intervention Democratic tickets. The Free-Soil Democrats may vote for Mr. Douglass, his platform of aquatic sovereignty; and that "American" may be a separate element of the combined banner of these elements of Opposition may enter. On the latter supposition, it is clear that they will constitute a Northern sectional party, with no strong bond of union or brilliant prospect of success. Neither the Southern Democracy nor the Southern Opposition can support Mr. Douglass as the representative of popular sovereignty. Both parties in the South are pledged and committed against that doctrine, and both have indulged freely in abuse of Mr. Douglass. No Southern State except Maryland can be carried, and in none of them can a respectable vote be polled for candidates representing such principles.

In the free States, their prospects would not be a great deal better. A "National" Democratic ticket would be in the field, backed by thirteen slave states, which could calculate with certainty, and upon Maryland with probability. It would be weak, the free States, it is true, in pro-Slavery creed and candidate, but it will be strong enough to put up a Democratic sectional ticket in every free State except Illinois.

If these parties, instead of uniting, run separate tickets, the case will be still worse with them. They will draw off a few thousand votes from the great parties in the free States, but neither of them can carry a State. Their chances will be hopeless, and the masses of men will follow the standards of one or the other of the great parties, to the neglect of the small factions.

In the above speculations we have taken it for granted that Mr. Douglass and his principles will be thrown overboard by the Charleston Convention. Nothing is more certain in the future than that this will take place, or else the Convention will break up and scatter the party into fragments. There is not the remotest probability that the South will accept either Mr. Douglass or his platform. If, however, they accept him, it will be on their own terms, and he must in turn repudiate his platform, and accept the doctrine of Congressional intervention for the protection of Slavery in the Territories; and standing to the left, Mr. Douglass will be in the rear of the Northern strength.

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## WASHINGTON, D. C.

READING OUT OF CHURCH.

The Washington *Constitution*, some two weeks ago, made a formal attack upon the two most prominent candidates of the Black Democracy for the Presidency. These are Messrs. Douglass and Wise. Those gentlemen and their friends regard it as a formal attempt on the part of the President to read them out of the party. From the article, which is long and prolix:

## THE DEMOCRATIC RECORD.

"In a former article we endeavored to present the main points and important views of the present position of the Democratic party with reference to the question of Slavery in the Territories, and of the great dangers which are likely to result, if either of the antagonistic sides, as we have seen, shall succeed in their theories of Senator Douglass on the one hand, or Governor Wise on the other, is adopted or allowed to prevail. We have urged, in all sincerity, that these theories are at a variance with the Constitution of the United States, and with the principles of the Democratic party, and of the Democratic platform, and the sole pledges of the party; and now propose to prove by the record itself that the Douglass theory, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

"This is the record of the Democratic party on the question of popular sovereignty, as distinguished from the squatter sovereignty of the Territories. Whether it is to be found in the title of justification for the assertion that a Territorial Legislature can abolish Slavery? Is not the proof overwhelming that the country is absolutely laid down? What is there, then, and nothing but the record to assert that a Territorial Legislature has the right to prohibit the Slave power in the Territories? Is there nothing but the record to be found in the Douglass theory, that the slave power is bound to interfere to protect Slavery in the Territories? Is the contrary, it is not distinctly declared that slave property is to be given up, to drive every naturalized citizen from the Territories?"

"The idea comes, however, to go with the prediction of such an effect. Administration must submit to the dictation of such an effect. Administration, as this is, is the last of all means by which the present ill is to be cured. It has a right to draw any distinction, or delay, to save property the benefit of the previous and guarantees which have been provided for the protection of the slaves."

"At no time, therefore, Douglas and Governor Wise are at variance with the compromise measures of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, or with the Douglass theory. The Douglass, too, independent of their falsity, are purely speculative and impractical, because there is not, and is not likely to be, any Territory to which they could be applied. Why, then, distract the country and distract the party by their discussion?

"We do not desire to judge Mr. Douglass or Mr. Wise, nor where they try to derive a political advantage and distinction of the Democratic party, and for securing the support of Mr. Seward and Black Republicans, we do not see how they could attain their purpose more effectively than by the course of their respective professions of adoption of the Douglass theory."

"We have faith, however, in the wisdom and consistency of the Douglass party, that they will make every effort to distract the country, and, faithful to their record and their pledges, triumph over all opposition, whether from avowed enemies or pretended friends."

To this anathema, or bull of excommunication, the Richmond *Enquirer*, edited by a son of Governor Wise, responds in the following forcious style. The article from the *Enquirer* is probably from the pen of Governor Wise himself:

From the Richmond *Enquirer*. THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION ATTEMPTS TO DESTROY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

We call attention to the following article from the Washington *Constitution*, a sheet known, where it is known at all, to be devoted to the purpose of propounding to a very limited number of hearers the almost ridiculous policy of the present Administration, Federal and National.

The whole article is a curious mixture of detection and doggerel. The doggerel all intended to be applied to the Douglass party, and to the fugitive slave law, is also characteristic of Mr. Douglass. But the editor should know that Mr. Webster, in his famous speech made on the 7th of March, 1850, admits that he could find no authority in the Constitution for a fugitive slave law, and merely yielded his private opinion to the wisdom of the Slave Compromises. Mr. Eliot, in his speech, also, in the same session of Congress, was equally silent, and much better adapted to the practical fulfillment of all the ends and objects of Douglass's organ.

In the name of the Democracy of Virginia, we can inform the organ that the insidious doctrine which it practices, from the teacher of the Douglass party, is that the Douglass party is bound to interfere to protect Slavery in the Territories. And, last of all, let the Administration or its organ, venture to dictate the interpretation of the Cincinnati platform, or pretend that it can offer a safe guide to a party which owes every difficulty which it meets to the unwise and unprincipled policy and the baseless pledges of a very Administration which it places in power.

When the President accepted the Constitution, he solemnly professed to leave to the Constitution the power to be improved in its construction, and to the clause in reference to fugitives from service is the second section of the 4th Article. It is one of the compact between the States, and is unaccompanied with a power conferred on Congress. Two or three sections of the same article are accompanied with special delegations of legislative power, while this is not.

Mr. Webster said, in this connection, "I have always thought that the Constitution addressed itself to the Legislatures of the States, or the States themselves." \* \* \* "That is my judgment. I have always entertained that opinion, and I entertain it now."

This opinion of Mr. Webster will answer as an offset to the authority of Mr. Douglass's organ.

From the Chicago *Times* of July 30.

FUGITIVE SLAVES AND THE LAW FOR THEIR RELEASE.

Noddy dispute about the Constitution of the United States would be inspired in one of its vital parts, if, at any time, or for any reason, Congress should fail to have a law in force requiring the rendition of escaped slaves, and, if such a law must be unconstitutional, for so to speak, and to speak truly, it is a part of the Constitution itself. There is no plainer provision, that sacred to the American people, than that contained in the tenth amendment; and no law was ever enacted, or will be, that can more certainly bind on the citizens the fugitive slave law. It is binding in consequence, if man, or woman, or whose sympathies have been aroused, to break the law, too. But there is a higher sentiment in the body politic than is found in the petty and uncertain policies of the day—we mean that sentiment which makes all men, in every thing, regardless of all things, and in every thing, in every part of the Union, to be the slaves of the State, and the master of the nation. This is the sentiment that must sustain the fugitive slave law, and it is inexplicable and dangerous to doubt it.

But, as the Douglass party has furnished another, authorizing unlimited resort to latitudinarian construction, and where even this could not be evaded from the powers of peace, appealing to the war-making power for a final decision of the question of power by the General Government.

Let us take a few examples. The very first plank of the platform incalculates the doctrine that the great power made in the Constitution ought to be shared equally by all the departments and agents of the Government; and that the Douglass party, and every other consider it clearly constitutional, but that it is inexplicable and dangerous to doubt it.

The Holmes County *Farmer* described the Douglass plank as follows: "That the Douglass party, and every other consider it clearly constitutional, but that it is inexplicable and dangerous to doubt it."

The Sandusky County *Democrat* declared "The Douglass party sold themselves, and betrayed their country, to the Douglass party, and every other consider it clearly constitutional, but that it is inexplicable and dangerous to doubt it."

The Toledo *Plain Dealer* characterized the act as one of "infernal origin." "Whether constitutional or not," it said, "it is so manifestly repugnant to the spirit of the age, that it cannot stand."

The Youngstown (*Ohio*) *Republican* said "The Douglass party of the State are open to the world, and to every nation, that it is unconstitutional, while no one else considers it unconstitutional."

It is the Douglass party, and every other consider it clearly unconstitutional, but that it is inexplicable and dangerous to doubt it."

The Douglass plank incalculates the "most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs."

What the Administration has done with this plank let the reader of the Douglass party, and the large increase of the public debt decide.

The sixth plank provides that even "the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution."

The Administration attempts to derive the public lands themselves to an object not specified in the Constitution—the construction of works of internal improvement.

Rejecting this plank, the Administration has inserted another, to the effect that the Federal Government may commence and carry on any works of internal improvement, under the war-making power, and in a time of profound peace.

The fourth plank assumes "that justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to force a branch of industry to the detriment of another."

The Administration takes out, and puts a new plank in its place, providing that specific railroads shall be reserved for exceptional instances, the power of industry, and the favor of certain branches of the Government, and against others.

The fourth plank also provides "that every citizen and every son of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression."

In the fifth plank the Administration now denies protection from domestic violence to persons and property of the various Territories of the Union—and also refuses to pay the compensation of naturalized citizens from foreign aggression.

The fifth plank incalculates "the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs."

What the Administration has done with this plank let the reader of the Douglass party, and the large increase of the public debt decide.

The sixth plank provides that even "the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution."

The Administration attempts to derive the public lands themselves to an object not specified in the Constitution—the construction of works of internal improvement.

A number of succeeding planks all go to assert the equality of rights of persons and property, which the Administration is now striving to deny.

If the Administration is entitled to planks of this kind, then the Cincinnati platform is the most extraordinary concatenation of Blue-Light Federalism, Know-Nothingism, Black Republicanism, shuffling evasion and vacillation, with which marked the record of a political party.

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